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CONTENTS.

THE GANDHARA SCULPTURES,

BY JAMES BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E.

Illustrated by 13 full-size Plates of

Sculptures from Yusufzai,

Lahor Museum, and the British Museum.

(To be continued).

RAM SINGH DEL. MAYO SCHOOL OF ART LAHORE

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IRON WORK.

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LIST OF PLATES.

ENGLISH.

Plate 1. Details of wrought iron Grille, known as the St. Swithin Grille, in Winchester Cathedral.

,, 2. Wrought iron Grille in the Chapel of St. Anselm, Canterbury Cathedral.

,, 3. Wrought iron Screen at entrance to Henry V.'s Chantry in Westminster Abbey.

,, 4. Details of wrought iron work in Canterbury Cath.

,, 5. Details of wrought iron work in Winchester Cath.

,, 6. Wrought iron Screen from St. John's Church, Frome, Somersetshire.

,, 7. Wrought iron Panel and Gate in Winchester Cath.

,, 8. Wrought iron Screen in the Chapel of University College, Oxford.
Wrought iron Altar Rail in St. Philip's Church, Birmingham.
Wrought iron Bracket in Denyer Street, Chelsea.

,, 9. Wrought iron Balusters.

,, 10. Pair of wrought iron Mace Stands.

,, 11. Steel Rim Lock, in pierced and engraved brass case.

,, 12. Steel Lock in pierced brass case.

,, 13. Steel Lock in pierced and engraved brass case.
Steel Key.

,, 14. Steel Hinge, covered with pierced and engraved brass.

FRENCH.

,, 15. Oak Coffer, decorated with wrought iron scrollwork.

,, 16. Wrought and stamped iron Hinge for a coffer.
Wrought and stamped iron Hinge.

,, 17. Wrought iron Knockers.

,, 18. Wrought iron Knockers.

,, 19. Wrought iron Lock.

,, 20. Wrought iron Grille (*Guichet*).

,, 21. Two wrought iron Candelabra.

,, 22. Two wrought iron Candelabra.

,, 23. Engraved steel Lock and Key.

,, 24. Wrought iron Door, painted and gilt.

,, 25. Two wrought iron Panels.

,, 26. Wrought iron Bracket.

FLEMISH.

Plate 27. Wrought iron Balcony.

GERMAN.

,, 28. Wrought iron splayed Lock for a Coffer.

,, 29. Wrought iron splayed Lock for a Coffer.

,, 30. Wrought iron Lock and Hasp.
Wrought iron Door Handle.

,, 31. Wrought iron Lock and Hasp.
Wrought iron Door Handle.

,, 32. Wrought iron Door Handles.

,, 33. Wrought iron Door Hinges.

,, 34. Oak Window Shutter, with wrought iron mountings

,, 35. Wrought iron Lock and Key.

,, 36. Wrought iron Bracket with bell.

,, 37. Wrought iron Grating for a fanlight.

,, 38. Pair of wrought iron Gates.

,, 39. Wrought iron Bracket and Sign.

,, 40. Wrought iron Hook for a Candelabrum.
Wrought iron Candelabrum.

,, 41. Two Wrought iron Window Gratings.

,, 42. Wrought iron Window Grating.

,, 43. Wrought iron Coffer.

,, 44. Top of wrought iron Coffer.

,, 45. Wrought iron Bracket.

ITALIAN.

,, 46. Pair of wrought iron Gates.

,, 47. Two wrought iron Panels.
Wrought iron Grille.

,, 48. Wrought iron Bowl Stand.
Two wrought steel Bowl Stands.

,, 49. Wrought iron Panel.

,, 50. Pair of wrought iron Gates.

,, 51. Pair of wrought iron Gates.

SPANISH.

,, 52. Wrought iron Knockers.

,, 53. Wrought iron Knocker.

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LONDON, S.E.

The Journal of Indian Art and Industry.

THE GANDHARA SCULPTURES.

By JAS. BURGESS, C.I.E., LL.D., F.R.S.E.

BY Gandhâra sculptures are designated the numerous images, carved friezes, pillars, &c., excavated from the ancient ruins of Buddhist monasteries and stûpas on the north-west frontier of India. They have been variously styled Græco-Buddhist, Aryan, Indo-Greek, and Indo-Baktrian—terms which are open to the objection of implying a theory respecting their art origin. They are all but entirely connected with Buddhist iconography, and many of them manifest some western or classical influence. And since they are found almost exclusively in the country which early writers named Gandhâra, they may very properly be characterized by the area of their origin. The country of the Gandarioi, Gandaræ and Gandaritis is mentioned by Herodotus, Ptolemy and Strabo. The Gandarioi furnished their contingent to the army of Darius in the invasion of Greece. Their country occupied the whole lower valley of the Kabûl river—the ancient Kophen or Kubhâ—from the Kâu river on the meridian of 70° W. longitude to the Indus, and from the Safid Koh range and the Kohat Toi river on the south to the borders of Kohistân, Chitral and the Hindu Kush on the north. It thus embraced the whole of the modern Afridi and Momand country, Swât, Bajaur, Bunêr, &c. At one period at least it seems even to have included within its limits the great city of Takshaśilâ in the Râwal Pindi district, to the east of the Indus,—forming an area 170 miles from east to west, and about 100 miles from north to south. The province between the Swât and Indus rivers, or the modern district of Yûsufzaï, was known as Udyâna, and sometimes formed a separate principality. It was through the northern districts of this country that Alexander led his army into India. On the rise of the Græco-Baktrian kingdom, in the middle of the following century, Gandhâra was included in it.

About the latter date, or B.C. 246, we learn that a Buddhist mission was sent to Kashmir and Gandhâra by the great Council held under king Aśoka. It was led by an elder or monk named Majjhantika (Madhyântika) of Dahala, who found a savage Nâga king, Aravâla, ruling the country. After strong opposition, the monk is said to have converted the king and gained over the whole population. "From that period," says the *Mahâvansa*, "to the present day, the people of Kashmir and Gandhâra have been fervently devoted to the three branches of the faith, and [the land] has glittered with the yellow robes [of the priests]." And the testimonies of the early Chinese pilgrims, together with the numerous remains of Buddhist monasteries and stûpas still found, amply confirms the statement that such was once the case.

The later Græco-Baktrian kings, about B.C. 180–80, probably patronised Buddhism; and Menander (cir. B.C. 130) who pushed his conquests into India farther than any of his predecessors—as far, it is said, as the Jamnâ, and even to have besieged Ayodhyâ—is claimed as a convert. In the *Milindapañha*, he is represented as discussing the tenets of the religion with the sage Nâgasena at Sâgala—probably the Sangala or Euthydemia of the Greeks (possibly in the Amritsar district)—represented as his capital.

The Sakas or Yueh-chi, who dispossessed the Græco-Baktrian kings of their territories, became patrons, if not devotees, of the same religion. Kanishka, one of their greatest kings, summoned the last great Buddhist council, held at Jâlandhar about A.D. 100, which gave form to the Northern Buddhism, or Mahâyâna section, with its Sanskrit literature and expanded mythology and pantheon.

Buddhism of the Mahâyana school continued to flourish in Gandhâra, including Udyâna, down, at least, to the middle of the eighth century. In the end of the fourth, when Fah-hian visited the country, he found 500 monasteries and the people devoted to the Bauddha Path; in the seventh, Hiuen Thsang, passing through the country, found the religion decadent; but fully a century later (A.D. 757–764) U-K'ong, who resided for some years in Udyâna, speaks of over 300 monasteries of the Sarvâstivâdin or Vaibhâchika school of Mahâyânists in this district, and the ruling princes zealously patronised the monks.

The rich antiquarian remains of the Kabûl valley and Indian frontier were brought to notice about 65 years ago by Mr. C. Masson, Dr. Hönigberger, General Ventura, and Captains Court and P. T. Cautley. The Manikyâla and other stûpas were opened and large numbers of Græco-Baktrian and Saka coins were collected, together with some sculptures. These excited much interest among scholars. But after the Panjâb came under British rule in 1849 wider scope was afforded to investigators; the ancient sites, particularly in Yûsufzaï, became accessible, and soon yielded numerous sculptures which have, in various ways, reached our Museums. The late Sir E. Clive Bayley obtained the first collection made at Jamâlgarhî, but—placing these valuable sculptures in the Crystal Palace for exhibition,—they were destroyed by the fire in November, 1866, and this before they had even

been photographed.[1] In November, 1885, General Cunningham shipped a large and important collection to England, which was lost in the steamer "Indus" off Ceylon. A very large number were excavated for the Government of India in the Yûsufzaï district, and were distributed among the various Museums in India, much to the detriment of their proper study. Numbers have from time to time been acquired by private individuals and found their way to the British Museum, the Berlin Ethnographical Museum,[2] the Edinburgh University, &c., &c. Those obtained in recent years, by Major H. Deane, have now been added to the Lahor Museum.[3]

Much of the Gandhâra sculpture suggests the stimulus of classical influence, and it has been debated how that influence originated, and especially its date or duration. Dr. H. H. Wilson (in his *Ariana Antiqua*, p. 322) held that the "Topes" or Stûpas "are undoubtedly all subsequent to the Christian era." General Cunningham assumed that the Græco-Baktrians had imported a knowledge of Greek sculpture and architectural forms, and had formed a school of classical art in Gandhâra, and that this survived till after the establishment of Buddhism there, which he places in the century B.C. From that epoch it impressed its influence on the sculptures and architecture of the monasteries and stûpas of which the remains are found over all the region. Their age he limited to the period of about 160 years between B.C. 40 and A.D. 100.

Mr. Fergusson, with such evidence as was before him in 1875, argued that the form of art presented in these sculptures required a much longer period for its development, and he held that it must be spread over the whole time that elapsed from the Christian era till Buddhism declined in the 8th century A.D. And he contended that while a classical element may have been handed down from the previous times of the Græco-Baktrians, the development of the classical feeling observed in the Buddhist art of Gandhâra must have been chiefly due to constant communication with the West, from the age of Augustus to that of Justinian. The character of the rich Corinthian capitals found in Yûsufzaï, he pointed out, were closely analogous to classical work of the 3rd or 4th century A.D.[4]

In accordance with, but modifying this view, Mr. W. Simpson, in December, 1893, read a paper before the Royal Institute of British Architects, in which he tried to show that this classical influence had come to the north-west of India by the trade route through Palmyra, which continued till the overthrow of that city in A.D. 273,—arguing that the architectural forms manifest Roman rather than Greek features,—and supporting this by the fact that Roman coins of A.D. 90 to 140 were found in the stûpas, and not Greek ones.[5] Necessarily, almost, this theory limits the sculptures to the 2nd and beginning of the 3rd centuries. But there is such a mixture of styles in the architectural representations,—such a jumble of elements suggestive of Byzantine, Sassanian, Greek and Indian—that we must accept a somewhat more prolonged period of development, and allow for a variety of influences carried by various routes.

Previous to this (in 1889) Mr. Vincent A. Smith contributed an able paper to the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*,[6] on "the Græco-Roman influence on the civilization of ancient India," which has hardly attracted the attention in Europe that it deserved. In February, 1890, M. Senart also submitted an able discussion of the date of the Gandhâra sculptures to the Société Asiatique of Paris.[7] These two papers were independent of one another, having been published about the same time.

Mr. Smith sums up his argument on the age of the sculptures in these words :—"That the Ionic pillars found in two temples at Taxila, east of the Indus, date from about the beginning of the Christian era, and are, with the exception of a very few sculptures of the same period, the earliest known examples of Indo-Hellenic work in the Panjâb. These pillars I regard as results of the operation of Hellenistic, as distinguished from Roman influence. Hellenistic ideas can also be traced in the early Buddhist sculptures, which were executed prior to the establishment of the empire of the Cæsars, at Bharhut, Buddha Çayâ and other places in the interior of India.

"The sculptures from the Yûsufzai country, the kingdom of Gândhâra properly so called, which lies west of the Indus, are, I believe, the work of a local school, probably founded by a foreign colony, which drew its inspiration directly from Roman, and only remotely from Greek art.

"I am of opinion that the earliest works of the Romano-Buddhist school of Peshâwar date from about A.D. 200, and that all the sculptures of any considerable degree of artistic merit were executed between that date and A.D. 350. The style probably lingered in decay as late as A.D. 450, but not later.

[1] All the record we have of them is a short descriptive *Note* by Sir E. C. Bayley, with eleven rough lithographed sketches, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Soc.*, vol. xxi. (1852), pp. 606-621.

[2] See *Ancient Monuments, &c., of India*, plates 71-75. Sixty-three pieces, largely from Swât, appear to be in the Berlin Museum.

[3] The illustrations in the following plates are mostly from those in the Lahor and British Museums: the latter have not been represented before.

[4] *Hist. Ind. Arch.*, pp. 76, 177, 181.

[5] See Mr. Simpson's paper and the discussion of it by various architects: *Jour. R. I. Brit. Arch.*, vol. I. (1894) pp. 93-115, and 147-153; Mr. J. L. Kipling's remarks, *ib.*, pp. 134-138.

[6] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. lviii. (1889, No. 3), pp. 107-198.

[7] *Jour. Asiat.*, 8me ser., tom. xv. (1890), pp. 132-163.

"It follows that I hold that there is a wide interval, at present unbridged, between the scanty remains of early Indo-Hellenic work in the Panjâb and the abundant specimens of later Indo-Roman work.

"The style of the Romano-Buddhist sculpture and architectural decoration shows some affinity with the style of the great temples at Palmyra and Baalbec, belonging to the second and third centuries A.D., but its closest relationship (and the connexion is very close indeed) is with the Roman Christian sculpture of the period A.D. 250–450, as seen in the catacombs."[1]

The principal sites where these Gandhâra remains have been found are at Sahri Balol, Shâhbâzgarhî and Sâwaldher in the plain, at Jamâlgarhî, Takht-i-Bahi, Sikri, Karkhai and Rânîgat in the hills of Yûsufzaï, and elsewhere, as at Topi, Ohind, Zihdih or Zeda in Utmanzai, at Tûrli, Bâkshali, and Gharyâli in Sûdam; and at Matta, Nathu, Sanghâo and Miyân Khân in Lûnkor.

"The buildings and sculptures of Jamâlgarhî," Mr. V. A. Smith remarks," "were the first described,[2] and are the best known. It is very unfortunate that no accurate record has been kept, in many cases, of the exact site where particular sculptures were found, and the consequent uncertainty greatly hinders satisfactory discussion. But it is certain that by far the largest proportion of the specimens of Gândhâra art, in the Indian Museum at Calcutta, came from Jamâlgarhî,[3] and that some of the best specimens in the British Museum came from the same locality. The Gândhâra school was in its prime when the Jamâlgarhî sculptures were executed." . . . "The Indo-Corinthian capitals found there are later than A.D. 217.[4] So far," he adds, "as I can see at present, the Jamâlgarhî remains do not vary much in style, and their execution cannot be extended over a very long period. The best may be dated A.D. 250, and the latest A.D. 300."[5]

Mr. Smith would place the sculptures from the monasteries at Nathu as slightly later, dating from about A.D. 300, and those from Sanghâo as generally contemporaneous with the latter, but "some of them look a little later." The examples from Miyân Khân appear to him superior in execution and more Greek in style[6] than those from other sites. Some of them may be, at most, as old as A.D. 200. From Sâwaldher, $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles east from Jamâlgarhî, General Cunningham believed some of the finest specimens in the Lahor Museum were obtained by Dr. Bellew.[7] If this be correct, the Sâwaldher ruins must be as old as those of Miyân Khân, and possibly contained works tracing their origin directly to Greek art. Mr. Fergusson, judging from photographs, was disposed to ascribe the Takht-i-Bahi remains to a later date than those at Jamâlgarhî,[8] and Mr. Smith thinks that, for them,—"perhaps A.D. 400 to 450 may be assigned as a tentative date."[9]

Hitherto, there has been but a sparing publication of these sculptures, and M. Senart called attention to the desirability "of well executed reproductions, in order to bring this very attractive subject within the reach of experts, who, from different points of view, would be able to throw light on the problems involved. Neither the materials nor the men to make use of them are wanting. The English government and the Indian administration have already deserved well from Archæology: they would do themselves honour in speedily giving to science the methodic publication it looks for from their intelligent liberality."[10]

This appeal induced the writer, in preparing Part I. of the *Illustrations of Ancient Monuments and Sculptures in India*, to select freely from the available materials at command. In that collection, 83 plates, containing about 200 figures, are devoted to Gandhâra or Yûsufzaï sculptures from the Berlin, Lahor and Calcutta Museums But these by no means cover the whole ground, and the illustrations now given, and which are drawn largely from the Lahor Museum and the British Museum,[11] are intended to supplement them and afford further materials for study.

The first plate is from M. Senart's paper in the *Journal Asiatique* for 1890,[12] and represents two figures found by Major Deane at Sikri in the Yûsufzaï district,—the emaciated Buddha is 2 ft. $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. high, and the female figure 3 ft. $0\frac{1}{2}$ in. They are, on the whole, in excellent preservation.

The Buddha is easily recognised by the nimbus (*bhâmaṇḍala*), the *ûrṇa* between the eyes, and the meditative attitude. As M. Senart points out, it represents Sâkya Muni, before the *bodhi* or enlightenment, in the state of emaciation and weakness to which the extreme austerities described in the legends reduced him, and the vanity of

[1] *Jour. As. Soc. Beng.*, vol. lviii., p. 172.

[2] *Ind. Ant.*, vol. iii. (1873) pp. 142ff; Cunningham, *Arch. Surv.*, vol. v. (1875) p. 46.

[3] Cunningham, *Arch. Surv.*, vol. v, p. 197, gives a list of 165 pieces of sculpture, mostly found here. Conf. Fergusson, *Hist. Ind. Arch.*, p. 170, note 2.

[4] That is, than the baths of Caracalla. Fergusson, *Hist. Ind. Arch.*, p. 178,—where there is a misprint for the period of the reign of Caracalla, which should be A.D. 211-217.

[5] *Jour. As. S. Beng.*, vol. lviii, p. 170.

[6] Conf. *Ind. Monts.*, pls. 89, 93, 100 and 123; or Cole's *Græco-Buddhist Sculptures*, pls. 23-30.

[7] Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, vol. v, p. 55.

[8] *Hist. Ind. Arch.*, p. 182.

[9] *Jour. A. S. Beng.*, vol. lviii, p. 171.

[10] *Jour. Asiat.*, 8me sér., tom. xv. (1890), p. 163, or *Notes d'Epigraphie Ind.*, III., p. 55.

[11] In the fifty-nine plates,—82-84, 88, 92, 95, 98, and 101-151—of the *Ancient Monuments, Temples and Sculptures of India*, Part I., we have photographs of a considerable number of these sculptures in the Calcutta Museum, and tentatively described in Anderson's *Catalogue*, Pt. I., pp. 198–257. If those lost in the "Indus" were equally, if not more, important, we may judge how valuable the collection was for the elucidation of Gandhâra art. It is very desirable that the Gandhâra sculptures in the Imperial Museum in Calcutta, and in the other Museums at Madras, Lahor, &c., should be published on an adequate scale. Large additions have been made to them in recent years.

[12] This was also given in *Indian Monuments*, &c., Part I., pl. 145.

which he soon recognised; his beard has sprouted—also a characteristic of the Brahman ascetics; his mantle or *chaddar* is too wide, and being no longer kept in position by the flesh, has slipt down his arms. In the *bas relief* on the base, the small figures, from their general attitude and the way that the draperies are treated, more directly indicate a western influence.

This influence is more pronounced in the second figure. This woman (to follow M. Senart's remarks), whether she be a symbolic or a divine personage, is accompanied by three children,[1] one of which sits astride on her right hip in Indian fashion, and which she is about to suckle. She has no name, so far as we know, in Buddhist iconography.[2] The head-dress and crown surmounting it have also a classical appearance. In other respects, the bracelets on the arms and the anklets are after the Indian fashion; and the pad that appears under the robe near the middle of the body corresponds, no doubt, to the girdles which formed a feature of female attire, in a great many cases, at Mathurâ, at Sânchi, at Amarâvatî and elsewhere. On the forehead hangs a jewel, in the form of a star, the cord holding it is clearly indicated coming from the hair. It may be noted that in the cutting of the eyes, the pupils are marked with the care observable in other works from the same source.

These works have a very distinctive character. They re-open the undecided question of the date that should be assigned to these sculptures and monuments from the Yûsufzaï country. No inscription of any kind has been discovered in the Sikri excavations. Apart from such indications, we are here dealing with a tradition of art too far separated from the main current, and too greatly modified by local circumstances or by the semi-barbaric origin of the artists to permit us to expect much aid from direct comparison with more or less similar Western works. Yet, since Fergusson reviewed the state of the problem with that authority which belonged to him, our knowledge has been enriched by several facts of a character to modify the conclusions to which he inclined. The question—a delicate and complex one—is not such as can be treated incidentally. The following remarks will deal directly with the age and origin to be assigned to these Sikri sculptures (plate 3).[3]

Fergusson's contention as to the originality and autonomy of style in the Indian sculptures anterior to the Christian era, at Gayâ, Bharhut, and Sânchi[4] does not conflict with the existence of traces of a Western influence exerted from that epoch on Indian monuments in the region to which these remains belong. It is only at Amarâvatî that the classic influence is manifested with a distinctness readily recognised, in the style of sculpture marked by an essential type and in a significant attribute of iconography. At Gayâ, Bhârhut, and Sânchi, Buddha is not directly represented—only by a symbol—the *pâdukâ* (footprints), or the *bodhi* tree. And the nimbus was unknown.

At Amarâvatî, as in the monasteries of the North-West, the person of Buddha became the most usual object in the figured representations. In scenes of every kind Buddha appears. The attitudes, the draperies, the scheme of the representations, the common use of the nimbus (*prabhâmaṇḍala*), and the very novelty of treatment, permit no separation between the two series. Undoubtedly, some external influence is necessary to explain so sudden an evolution. Western art, accustomed to multiply divine types, could exert such an influence, and the *nimbus* is conclusive. Its classical origin is certain.[5] Indo-Skythian coins show its employment from before the Christian era.[6] In the Gandhâra sculptures the nimbus is rarely wanting on Buddha, and it is extended to divinities and less important personages—as for instance, on the side figures on pl. 8, fig. 2, who may probably represent the two famous disciples *S*âriputra and Maudgalyâyana—we recognise that freedom from convention that was to be expected in the country where its employment originated.

It cannot be questioned that the iconography of Buddha, as it appears definitely consecrated at Amarâvatî, is derived from the North-West and from Western influences. It is equally certain that the Amarâvatî sculptures, as compared with the majority of those found in the Gandhâra ruins, exhibit a later character, a more recent origin. Even the representations of Buddha incline to become greatly attenuated and are on the way back to the modern conventional form.[7] In the more attenuated forms, the more tortuous lines, and the less natural movements of the Southern sculptures, it is impossible not to recognise the work of a more recent period, in which the peculiarities of Indian taste assume the mastery over the canon of more sober work.

[1] In a statue in the Lahor Museum (*Ind. Monuments*, pl. 85) we find that the individual represented—perhaps a king—is accompanied not only by personages on a smaller scale, as guards or servants, but also on the left by a mutilated figure, which probably represents some genius offering homage to the king by suspending a heavy garland round his body. And here the little personages may be playing a similar part, and are employed to indicate the divine rank of the principal figure by holding upon her head a garland or diadem. (*Jour. Asiat.*, 8me ser., tome xv. p. 142).

[2] Among the sculptures in the Lahor Museum is another, which may be compared with this (Plate 5, fig. 1). It is a statue of a woman, completely draped, and holding on her left arm a child. Unfortunately, the head and right arm are wanting, and the whole fragment is much worn and abraded. But the draperies are quite Western in disposition, and the general appearance at once recalls to one's mind a mutilated statue of the Virgin suckling her child (*Ibid.*)

[3] Senart, *Jour. As.*, 8me ser., tom. xv. p. 143. The substance of M. Senart's excellent paper is, by his kind permission, engrossed—largely translated—in this.

[4] *Hist Ind Arch.*, pp. 89, 183.

[5] It appeared in Greek art about the end of the 4th century B.C. Conf. Stephani, *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz*, in the *Mem. Acad. St.Petersburg*, 6me ser. tom. ix.

[6] Gardner, *Greek and Scythic Coins*,—of Philoxenus, pl. xiii. 9; of Maues, xvi. 9; of Kanishka, xxvii. 7, xxvi. 8, and xxxii. 19, also xxviii. 22, 23.

[7] Compare *Archæol. Surv. W. Ind.*, vol. I. (*Amarâvati*), pp. 80, 81, and pl. xl. fig. 1.

We are assured, then, of not being far astray in taking the date of the Amarâvatî sculptures as a *terminus ad quem* in forming an estimate of the period when the Buddhist art of the North-West had fixed its traditions and widely extended its influence in the interior of India. Now on this essential point, recent discoveries must modify the basis admitted by Fergusson. He placed the construction of the two rails, successively formed round the primitive stûpa, in the 4th and in the 5th century.[1] The inscriptions found since force us to go at least 200 years further back.[2] And this mistake as to the date of the Amarâvatî sculptures is reflected in the date he has assigned to the Gandhâra monuments and sculptures.[3] That alone to which his long experience would naturally give great authority,—the analogy of style that he recognised between these sculptures and the works of the Roman and even of the Byzantine decadence—loses much of its weight (Fergusson himself points this out) from the fact that the two series of monuments belong to very different surroundings, and that barbarism has not necessarily advanced at an even pace. On the contrary, it is natural to suppose that, so far from its place of origin, art ought to have declined much more rapidly. But, whatever may be the force of arguments from taste and sentiment, it may be readily admitted that all decadences tend to resemble one another and to become confounded in similar unskilfulness.

As to the introduction of little personages into the Corinthian capitals, there is nothing against the admission that this innovation belongs properly to the Hellenized East.[4] The usage of representing Buddha under the *bodhi* tree would favour the idea of placing him under the foliage of the capitals.[5] This arrangement, so frequent in these sculptures, applies to seated or standing figures of Buddha only. The coins, as already mentioned, prove the established tradition of the priestly type of Buddha and the use of the nimbus, from the first century.[6]

These data are too general to fix the dates of particular monuments. It is probable that the monasteries of the Kâbul valley were not all built at the same date. Imperfect as our knowledge still is of the sculptures that abound there, it is easy in the relatively limited number of available photographs to distinguish differences of execution that may correspond to differences of date. It is quite possible that the tradition of Gandhâra Buddhist architecture and sculpture may have continued in the North-West during a more or less lengthened period. One point, however, may be accepted—that the period of the fullest maturity and widest expansion of this art is previous to the second half of the second century;[7]—that at that period the evolution which it introduced into Bauddha iconography was accomplished and accepted. In default of positive proof it would be quite arbitrary to fix at any later date the principal monuments that have been preserved, especially those which seem most characteristic and appear relatively ancient. From the end of the first century the coinage rapidly deteriorates; and it is not credible that the sculptures in the same region followed an opposite course.

The two statues represented on Plate 3 do not contradict these inductions. In that of the female, the Western physiognomy is too marked to suggest a very late date. And in the figure of Buddha, the precision of execution, the effort at realistic exactness evident in spite of incorrectness, the skill with which several parts are treated, the subtility of modelling in the right shoulder, and in the muscles attaching the arm to the breast,—all point to a period when solid traditions of technical knowledge were still preserved.[8] This type of the penitent Bodhisattva is very rare, but we have one other example (Plate 4, fig. 1), from the British Museum,[9] which is substantially a replica of the former. It has never held a recognised place in priestly iconography. The evident care with which it is treated in this example, and the effort at originality which it testifies to, connect it, with some probability, with the period when the conventional iconography of Buddha was shaping itself with comparative freedom before settling into fixed moulds—a period which can hardly have been later than the end of the first century.

We may hope that some day inscriptions will throw clearer light on this problem. The inscriptions hitherto found elsewhere in connexion with these sculptures, besides stray characters and single names of months, in the Kharoshṭhî character at Jamâlgarhî, Kharkai,[10] Saddo and Sahri-Balol, are—(1) from Takht-i-Bahî, an inscription dated in the 26th year of Mahârâja Guduphara, in the year 103 of an undetermined era,[11] but probably about A.D. 45; (2) the Takshaśila inscription of the Satrap Liako Kusalako, dated in the 78th year of the great

[1] *Tree and Serp. Wor.*, pp. 178ff. [2] Burgess, *Amarâvati*, p. 11 *et passim*. [3] *Hist. Ind. Arch.*, pp. 177ff.;—noticed below.

[4] *Ind. Monuments*, Part I., pls. 76-78, 109, and 111. Conf. Loftus, *Chaldæa and Susiana*, pl. at p. 225, and Rawlinson's *Sixth Orient. Mon.*, p. 383.

[5] Among the Sikri sculptures were several capitals of this type.—*Jour. As.*, *u. s.* p. 150.

[6] Conf. Smith, *Jour. A. S. Beng.*, vol. lviii., p. 193; Cunningham, *Arch. Sur. Rep.*, vol. v., p. 7.

[7] Senart, *Jour. As.*, ut sup., p. 150. Mr. Smith's opinion is that the best of the Jamâlgarhî and Miyân Khân sculptures may be dated a century earlier, or A.D. 250,—*Jour. A. S. Beng.*, u.s., pp. 170, 171.

[8] We should here note the remarkable difference between the principal figure and the bas-relief decorating the pedestal, which is treated in quite a perfunctory way, being, doubtless, a conventional scene multiplied in numerous repetitions by inferior artists. This circumstance should be observed by those who may seek to establish the chronological order of the Gandhâra remains. [9] This formerly belonged to Mr. Fergusson. Conf. *Petit Guide illust. Mus. Guimet* (1897), p. 129.

[10] Cunningham, *Archæol. Survey Ind.*, vol. v., pp. 54, 63, pls. xii., xvi.

[11] *Jour. R. A. Soc.*, vol. vii. (1875), p. 376; Cunningham, *Arch. Surv. Ind.*, vol. ii. p. 60; v. p. 58; *Jour. As.*, 8me ser., tom. xv. p. 114; Gardner, *Coins of Greek and Scythic Kings*, p. xliv.

king Moga,[1]—possibly about A.D. 20; (3) Ohind fragment dated in the month Chaitra of the year 61; (4) Panjtâr inscription of a Mahârâja of the Kushân tribe, dated in the year 122; (5) Zihdih inscription of Kanishka dated in the year 11, *i.e.* about A.D. 90;[2] and (6) an inscription found on the pedestal of an image (Plate 5, fig. 3) at Hashtnagar—the site of the ancient Pushkarâvatî or Peukelaôtis—and consisting only of a date in the year 276,[3] that is, either about A.D. 220 or 352, according as we adopt the Moga or Kanishka era. Votive inscriptions, found beside the sculptures, necessarily belong to a period of monumental creations. In this respect the Takht-i-Bahi inscription of Gudophares and the Zihdih (or Zeda) epigraph[4] are of value. The one takes us back to the early half of the first century, and the second to the 11th year of Kanishka or A.D. 89. The Ohind inscription belongs to the same class. It accompanied a pious gift, and the date 61, even connecting it with the era of Kanishka, takes us no farther back than the second quarter of the second century. These dates then favour those which perfectly independent considerations otherwise suggest.

It is, in fine, round the names of Gudophares and Kanishka that the North-West sculptures seem naturally to group themselves; the former, with Abdagases, Vonones, Pakorus, belongs to a Parthian dynasty, which,—whatever may be its precise origin—remains a witness of the power exercised by certain Arsakides as far as the frontiers of India. The influence of the semi-Hellenic civilization, of which they were devoted representatives, is amply manifested in the types, in the Iranian names, and in the symbols and customs exhibited on the coins of Kanishka and his dynasty. The bas-reliefs in the Lahor Museum present several examples of clothing and head-dresses of Iranian character.[5] The fire-altar (Plate 3, fig. 1, and Plate 10, fig. 4), though under a peculiar form,[6] appears surrounded by a veneration which is perhaps significant. On the pedestal of the ascetic Buddha it is explained by a reference to the worship of the Brahman ascetics, among whom the Bodhisattva still ranked himself at this period of his life. The same symbol appears on the base of another sculpture from Jamâlgarhî in the British Museum (Plate 8, fig. 2), and in one at Lahor (Plate 10, fig. 3) where the worshippers are represented with Pathân trowsers.

The female statue (Plate 3, fig. 2) may possibly belong to the Iranian types found on the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka, but which had disappeared from those of Vasudeva.[7] It would still be towards the 1st century A.D. that the analogy would point, and in agreement with the style of the work. This is the period when historical circumstances are most favourable, both to local development and to the diffusion of Græco-Buddhist art. At the beginning of the 1st century B.C., the aggressive renewal of Western influences, represented by the phil-Hellenism of the Arsakides and maintained by the rise of the Parthian dynasty peculiar to this region, would explain the creation of a sort of school imbued with classic traditions; at the end of the 1st century A.D. the establishment of the powerful dynasty of Kanishka,—tributary, as to civilization, to his neighbours of Iran—marks the moment when, upon the widest base that ever an alien race had conquered in India, this Gandhâra school was best able to propagate its influence in the interior of the country.

At Amâravatî the art of the North-West is evident throughout; one finds everywhere the Buddha in the sacred attitude, with the nimbus.[8] In the inner circle, the ornamentation is more minute and more deeply cut, the representations of Buddha are infinitely more numerous and conform exactly to the priestly type,—while upon the outer rail there remain several cases where the person of Buddha, as in the more ancient tradition, seems to be represented by symbols, and especially by the sacred feet. If by way of hypothesis we allow an interval of half a century between the two series, we shall come to the second quarter of the second century for the first diffusion in these parts of the iconography of the North-West, and to the last quarter for its distinct and unchallenged domination.[9]

In India itself the indigenous school preserved the purity of its methods up to a period contemporaneous with the school of Western imitation and priestly iconography. One side of a slab of the interior balustrade at Amarâvatî, figured by Fergusson,[10] bears a stûpa adorned with elaborate representations in a style clearly imitated from the North-West, with several Buddhas having nimbi and in conventional poses; the reverse bears an adoration of Buddha, under the symbol of the sacred feet, in a style quite analogous to that of Sânchi. He justly attributed the two faces to very different periods.

[1] Cunningham, u.s., vol. ii. p. 132; v. p. 67; Gardner, *ib.*, p. xlix; *Jour. As.*, 8me ser., tom. xv. p. 127.

[2] *Jour. As.*, u.s., pp. 136ff. [3] *Ind. Antiq.*. vol. xviii. p. 257; and *Jour. A. S. Beng.*, vol. lviii. pp. 142ff. [4] *Indian Monuments*, Pt. I., pl. 70, and 81.

[5] See *Indian Monuments*, Pt. I., pls. 71-152.

[6] See also *Ind. Monuments*, Pt. I., pl. 88, fig. 1; pl. 99; and pl. 142, fig. 1. But is this really meant for a fire-altar, or may it not represent the lamp kept burning before the image in the shrine, of which this sculpture may be a sort of pictorial representation?—J.B.

[7] Conf. *Ind. Monts.*, pl. 142, fig. 1; M. A. Stein in *Ind. Ant.*, vol. xvii, pp. 89ff. This may, however, be some aboriginal object of worship, like Hâriti, mentioned below.—J.B.

[8] Nowhere is the imitation of the statuary of the North-West more distinctly recognisable than in a panel of the outer rail (Burgess, *Amaravati*, pl. xxvi, fig. 1), yet in the opinion of all this rail is somewhat more ancient than the inner one, though all are agreed in admitting (Fergusson, *Tree and Serp. Wor.*, p. 178; Burgess, *Amaravati*, p. 12) a very short interval between the two (*Jour. As.*, u.s., p. 156).

[9] The Sânchi gateways belong to a considerably earlier date. See *Epigraphia Indica*, vol. ii, pp. 88, 89.—J. B.

[10] *Tree and Serp. Wor.*, pl. lxxviii, figs. 2 and 3.

Whether the transition period were long or short, the remains at Amarâvatî—including with them some found at Mathurâ—remain the only sure traces, up to the new era, of an immediate influence of Western art on the sculpture of inner India. That it was prolonged in the succeeding Buddhist art, that it had, so to speak, a prolonged echo, the iconography attests; the imitation was at least propagated by the indigenous tradition; so far as we know, there is no indication of a fresh influx of direct teaching. This is a circumstance that ought not to be lost sight of, if we wish to arrive at correct conclusions on the general questions we are dealing with.

These questions touch on the one hand the Western influence on the sculptures of India, on the other the date of the monuments and especially of the Buddhist sculptures of the Gandhâra country. The preceding observations have now led us to these conclusions:—

1. With regard to classical influence, we must distinguish between the impulse which the first contact with Greek civilization exercised upon India at the time of Alexander, of the Seleukides, and of the Græco-Baktrian kingdom, and the influence manifested at Amarâvatî on Buddhist art and imagery. The first would seem to have been of a very general nature, since no monument to be attributed to this period has hitherto been discovered in the North-West,[1] and the architectural features show no token of classical inspiration, while the style of contemporaneous sculpture remains indigenous. The second asserts itself and takes substance in monuments in which no one has mistaken it. Only its date and the manner in which it was produced require precise determination.

As to the date: the first half of the second century seems to mark the period when imitation was most active. It is not probable that it was prolonged much beyond this. If it had been exerted later, after the great ascendancy of Buddhism under Kanishka and Huvishka, one would not expect it to be so strictly circumscribed within Buddhist art.

As to the historical conditions and mechanism of this influence, they are also sufficiently plain. It is not the natural flower of local germs deposited by the first Hellenic conquest, as appears from the absence of any monument that can be dated earlier than the first century before our era, and specially from the character of the monuments preserved: besides, the style indicates no sort of organic development from Greek art of the good period; in the architectural forms as in the types represented—it is so entirely adapted to indigenous ideas and tradition, that the direct conscious influence of Greek art cannot be recognised.

Many indications shew that the extension of the power of the Arsakides in the 1st century B.C., the local settlement of an Iranian dynasty, left as a witness of their success, then the rise of the dynasty of Kanishka—of which all the culture seems to have been borrowed from the examples of Iran—had resuscitated in the North-West what the Greek colonies of the Iranian region, far from their country and among barbarians, had preserved of the traditions of Hellenic art.[2] Owing to the inroad in this region about this date, and with which the name of Nâgârjuna[3] is associated, it was Buddhism that benefitted by the talent of the new artists, and which propagated the style and the forms of which they were the initiators.

2. The date arrived at for the expansion of Western influence fixes, at the same time, approximately the date of the Buddhist sculptures of the North-West. This expansion, in fact, implies the pre-existence at least of monuments analogous to those under remark, the imitation of which is so manifest at Amarâvatî. We are then free to admit that the earliest of these monuments cannot be later than the 1st century A.D.: *a priori* arguments to bring them down to a later date cannot be sustained. This is precisely the period to which the several dated inscriptions found with the monuments belong, and the character of the figures—to hold to these examples (on Plate 3)—is certainly not unfavourable to such a conclusion.

It is quite true that necessarily the sculptures do not all belong to the same date. But if it be granted that the oldest go so far back, we can scarcely place the others of the same series much later. The rapid decline of technical skill to which the execution of the coins testifies, the absence of all influence of this art outside Buddhism—indicating that its flourishing period must have been quite a short one,—and the general resemblance of all the works, forbid the distribution of the examples of this school over a very long period; and, in referring the mass of the sculptures now known to the first and second centuries of our era, we run little risk of being far astray. The facts accessible hardly seem to authorise more definite conclusions.

The above is a pretty full version of M. Senart's views and arguments. It will be observed that though the process by which he reaches the result differs from that of Mr. V. A. Smith, the dates arrived at vary but slightly. M. Senart's date for the earlier and better examples of the Gandhâra school is not later than the first century of our era,—that is, about a century earlier than Mr. Smith contends for; and the former fortifies his opinion by the early spread of the style to Amarâvatî. He does not, like Mr. Smith, fix a terminal date for the period during

[1] See Cunningham, *Arch. Sur.*, vol. v, p. 189.

[2] On the subject of these distant establishments of Greek artizans, the reader is referred to the ingenious remarks of M. Heuzey, *Catalogue des figurines de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre*, p. 40-41.

[3] It is naturally difficult to make out whether these artists influenced certain aspects of the Mahâyânist religious evolution which is connected with this name. We could not *a priori* ignore the possibility—perhaps the probability—of it.

which the school flourished, but he seems to incline to one prior at least to the fourth century. The agreement, therefore, between the two independent investigators is as close as might be expected from the data.

The central figure of most of these sculptures, as already pointed out, is the figure of the founder, Gautama Buddha or *S*âkya Muni. Separately—as an object of worship—or pictorially and in groups, both standing and seated, he appears as a finished type. The face, in the older and more ideal conceptions, shows features reminding us of classic forms; while on the more modern and more stereotyped pieces, the features are distinctly Hindu (compare plate 9, fig. 1, and plate 8, figs. 1, 2, &c.). The treatment of the drapery, in the earlier slabs, is quite classical and often very delicate, with, sometimes, quite an individual character; but on the later examples the different garments have become conventional, and are disposed in a decidedly un-Indian fashion.[1] Certain examples where the nimbus (*bhâmaṇḍala*) is wanting, may go back to more ancient types, while it is found in all the more artistically executed types,[2] as in plates 7, fig. 2; 8, figs. 1–3; 9, fig. 1; &c.

Plate 4, fig. 1. has already been referred to; it represents a small sculpture, now in the British Museum, about 7 inches high by 7½ broad, and believed to be from Jamâlgarhî. The figure of the emaciated Gautama is a replica of that already described from Sikri; but here he is attended by four personages. The legend tells how the Bodhisattva appealed to Deva, a Brahman from near Kapilavastu, to supply him with sufficient millet for a daily meal, which was promised. After six years "his skin became wrinkled and his body attenuated and his eyes hollow as an old man's; whilst his limbs were unable to support him as he moved." But, during the six years' penance which the Bodhisattva endured, Mârarâja Pisuna[3] had set himself to follow step by step and tempt him to some sin, but found no opportunity. He now advises him to give up the quest, but in vain.[4] Gautama then appealed to Deva for better food, and the latter reported the desire to Sena, a village head-man, whose two daughters Nandâ and Nandâbalâ[5] prepared for him some rich milk soup with honey, by which he was revived, and afterwards set himself to obtain *bodhi* or enlightenment. Sujâtâ, or Nandâ, on the Bodhisattva's right, asks him to accept the food, and Balâ appears behind on his left. The man in front of her may be either her father Sena (or Nandika), or the Brahman Deva.

Now in these sculptures Mâra the tempter is supposed to be recognised by the *vajra* or thunderbolt in his hand, a symbol of a superhuman being, with bushy beard and abundant hair, and by these he is characterised in every representation, while he is frequently also partly nude. The representations vary somewhat, and in what are perhaps the more modern sculptures he supports the *vajra* on his hand, instead of grasping it by the middle. This figure has also been mistaken for Devadatta, the cousin and enemy of Buddha;[6] but Devadatta appears under a distinctly different form in certain scenes in which he was concerned (Plate 14, figs. 1 and 2), while Mâra Pâpiyân may appear in all scenes as the ever-present tempter. (See Plate 10, fig. 2; pl. 11, fig. 2; pl. 13, fig. 5; pl. 14, figs. 1, 2; &c. But in later Bauddha mythology it is Vajrapâṇi that holds the diamond *vajra*. He is described under various aspects, such as being the Hindu god Indra, who in a former *jâtaka*, as the son of a Chakravarttin, or universal ruler, took a vow to defend Buddhism, and was re-born as king of the Yakshas. In this capacity he holds the *vajra* ready to crush every enemy of Buddhism. Vajrapâṇi, or Vajradhara, is also identified with Mañjuśri, and is besides a popular divinity among the followers of the Yogâchârya or Tantra school of Nepal and China, as the terror of all enemies of the Buddhists, and is especially worshipped in exorcisms.[7] Grünwedel thinks the conception of Mâra was abandoned in later Buddhist art, and as soon as the ancient art-forms died out, the figure of Mâra reverted to the general type of the gods as a class. It was then sought to explain the appearance in the early Gandhâra sculptures, of a god appearing near Buddha's person bearing a thunderbolt, and thus, he thinks, originated theBodhisattva Vajrapâṇi.[8] The appearance of this personage in these sculptures, however, hardly ever seems distinctly inimical, and it calls for consideration whether it is not as a symbol of secular or divine power that he appears so frequently and suits as well the character of a defender as of an implacable enemy.

It is well known that there are curious resemblances between Bauddha legends and Christian traditions, and, whether the apostle Thomas really preached in the realm of Gudopharna or no, there can be little doubt that Apocryphal gospels such as those of the Nativity, of Nicodemus, &c., reached India, through Persia, in the early half of the third century, and influenced the legends and, perhaps, even the iconography of Buddhism.[9] Incidents in the accounts of the Nativity, Temptation, &c., present analogies.

[1] Conf. Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst in Indien* (1893), p. 82.

[2] *E.g., Ind. Monuments*, plates 71, and 122, also 112, 127, and 129, fig. 3.

[3] Mârarâja is variously named Namuchi, Vasavarti, Kâmadhâturâja, Krishna, Pâpiyân, &c., and is represented as the lord of pleasure, sin and lust,—the tempter, the evil principle, inherent sin. Mâra, in Bauddha mythology, is one of the three great archangels presiding over the world of sense,—*S*akra (or Indra) and Mahâbrahma being the other two; but while they interfere in human affairs for good, he does so only for evil.

[4] Foucaux, *Lalita Vistara*, chh. 17, 18; Beal's *Romantic Legend*, p. 189.

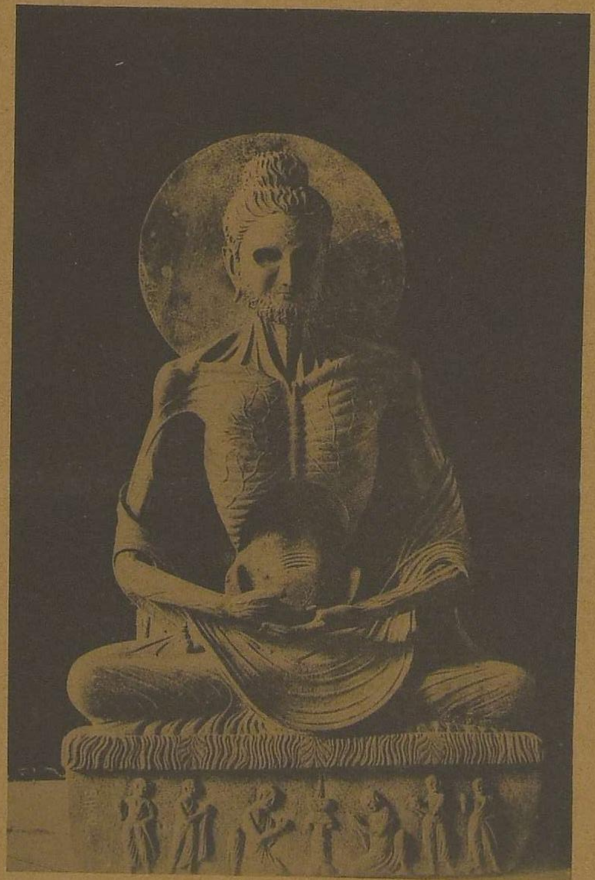
[5] The *Lalita Vistara*, u.s., p. 228, speaks of ten daughters, of whom Sûjatâ is the more prominent. They are also called Ânandâ and Balâ, and their father Nandika. The Singalese have Sujatâ and Purnnâ.

[6] Anderson's *Catal. Archæol. Coll. Ind. Museum*, Pt. I., pp. 206, 207, 208 ff.

[7] See *The Bauddha Rock-Temples of Ajanta, their paintings, &c.*, p. 102, fig. 24. Both Fah-hian and Hiwen Tsang mention that, near the place where Gautama died, "the hero that bears the diamond sceptre" threw down the golden mace, or fell to the earth.—Beal's *Si-yu-ki*, vol. ii, p. 36; M. Stanislas Julien, *Mem. sur les Cont. Occid.*, tom. i, p. 340.

[8] Grünwedel, *Buddhistische Kunst*, p. 88.

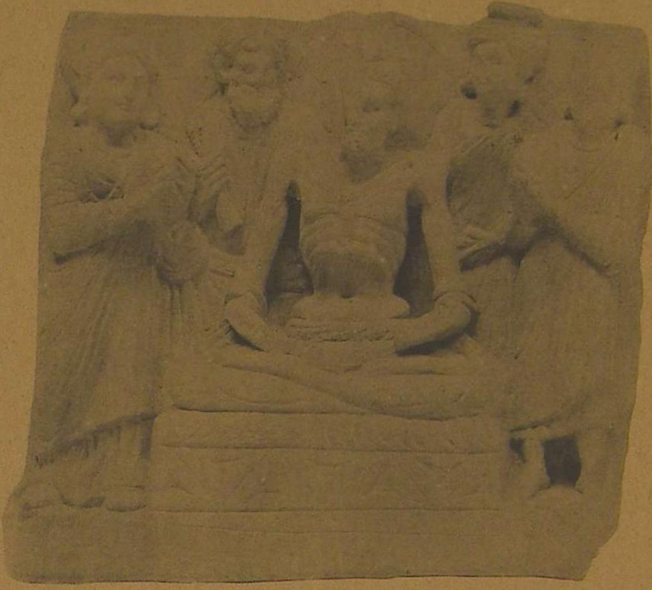
[9] Conf. Grünwedel, ut sup., pp. 77f.; *Indian Antiquary*, vol. viii, pp. 249ff.; &c.



1

2

3—Gandhâra Sculptures from Sikri.



1 Ascetic Bodhisattva.

2 Hâritî.

3 Mahâkâla (?)

4

4—Sculpture in Lahor Museum.

1 Sculptures in Lahor Museum. 2

3

5—Hashtnagar inscribed pedestal.

(*British Museum*).

6—Drum of Sikri stûpa.

1

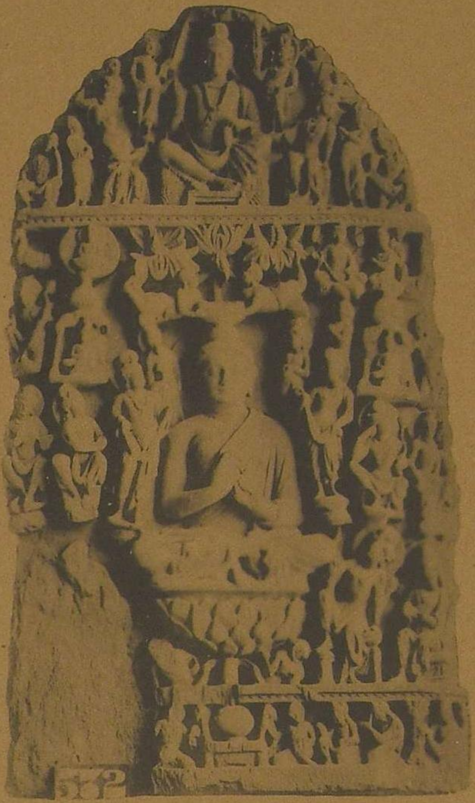
7—Carved representation of the dome of a stûpa.

(*Lahor Museum*).

2

Buddha on the Padmâsana.

(*Lahor Museum*).



1 Buddha Enthroned

(*Lahor Museum*)

2 Buddha, *S*âriputra and Maudgalyâyana.

(*British Museum*)

3 8—Buddha Teaching—from Sikri.

(*Lahor Museum*).

4 Sculpture in Lahor Museum.

1 Buddha Teaching.
(*British Museum*).

2 A Bodhisattva (*British Museum*)

3 A Bodhisattva.
(*British Museum*)

4 9—Sculptured fragment.
(*Lahor Museum*).

1 Birth of Siddhârtha.

2 Siddhârtha in the Vimalavyuha garden.

3 Sculpture in Lahor Museum.

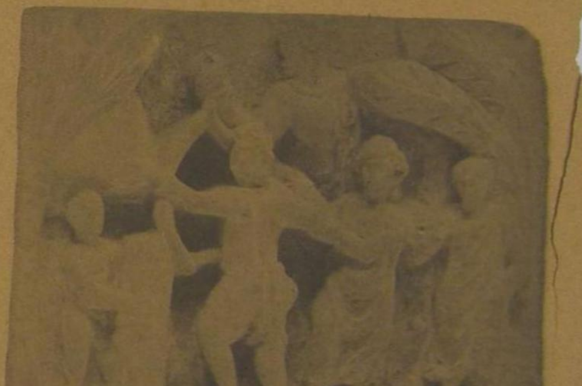
4 Buddha and Bhikshus.

5 10—Buddha teaching at Banâras.

6 Fragment in Lahor Museu

1
Dipankara Jâtaka.
(*British Museum*).

2
Pl. 11—Dipankara Jâtaka.
(*Lahor Museum*).



3
The young Gautama.
(*British Museum*).

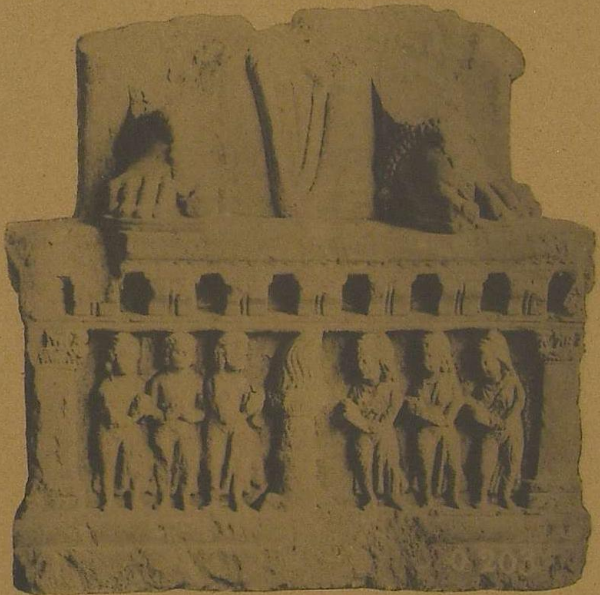
1 12.—Renunciation of Siddhârtha.

2 Sculpture in Lahor Museum.

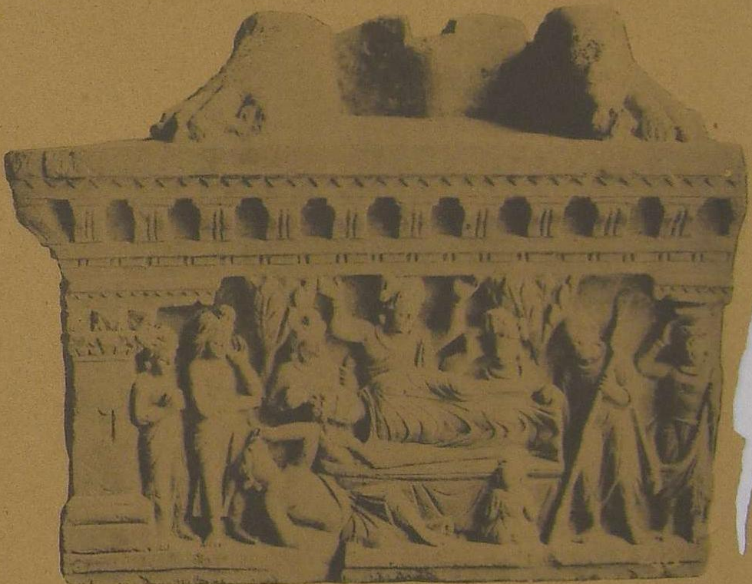
1 A Yaksha.
(*British Museum*)

2 Siddhârtha leaving home.

3 Portion of a pedestal.



4 13 — Base of a statue.
(*Lahor Museum*)



5 Death of Gautama

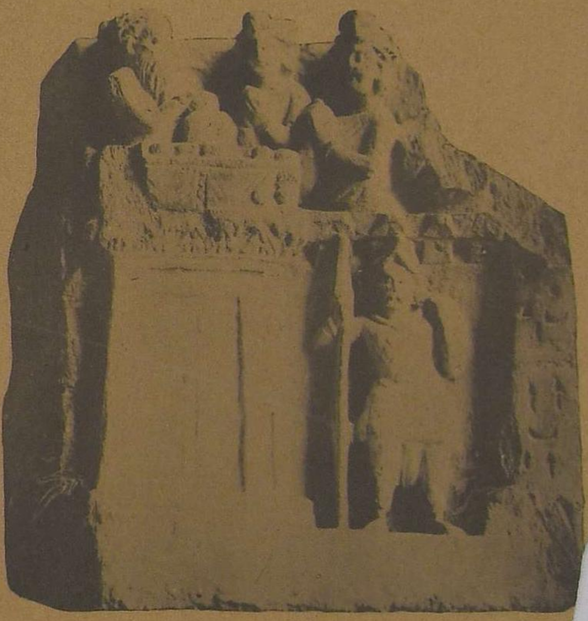
1 Buddha, Mara, &c.
(*British Museum*)

2 14 —Buddha and the Elephant.
(*British Museum*)

3 Sculpture from Lahor Museum

1 Sculpture from Upper Monastery at Nathu, Yûsufzaï.

2 15—Sculptured pediment.



3 Fragment.

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